THE CRISIS

NOVEMBER 1928

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THE CRISIS

A Record of the Darker Races

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, *Editor* — PIERCE MCN. THOMPSON, *Business Manager*

Volume 35, No. 11 Contents for November, 1928 *Whole No. 217*

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The Christmas Number of THE CRISIS will be beautiful in color and illustration and interesting in content. There will be a story; an essay on the ideals of a creative artist; something about the boy scouts and a further development of our unique geographical news service covering the dark world of literature, comment and occurrence. Our poetry will keep its mark of high distinction. The Editor will moralize on the election.

As the Crow Flies

THE world has been flying just twenty-five years. — Humiliation Days! Fine Chinese idea. We know humiliation too, Golden Brothers.—Disarmament treaties are promises to throw away weapons which are useless to you, if your enemy discards a like number of weapons useful to him.—The Greeks and the Italians have signed a treaty. Now what?—Great Britain has so many people unemployed that she is going to spend $40,000,000 to encourage war at Singapore.—The International Association for the Protection of Authors' Rights met in Belgrade.—The United States has recognized the new Chinese government at Nanking, which is good sense; and also the new King Zogu of Albania. Moscow next.—One Hundred years ago the immortal Tolstoy was born.—The world war will not end until English and French troops evacuate the German Rhineland.—$12,000,000,000 of American capital have gone to employ labor in Europe, Asia and Africa since the war; and yet we think we are keeping cheap labor out of America.—It is our deep desire to see Mr. Tunney married and done with.—The Smithsonian Institute is explaining to Orville Wright just why and how it lied about him and his brother.—Colleges have opened, full of the problem of too many people wanting to know too much.—The top of the morning to Emilio Portes Gill, President elect of Mexico, and disappointer of all 100% Americans.—Philadelphia is having its annual season of virtue with symptoms a little worse than usual.—Mrs. Willebrandt is campaigning against Smith and Perry Howard.—A tale of three cities is the prosecution of thieves in office at Newark, New York and Chicago.—Crime still waves. It has nothing whatever to do with patriotism and the World War.—There is in Germany an old, old man who longs for rest, but the world will not let Hindenburg rest.—It was great fun stealing the world's gold after the war. We are paying for it now with an orgy of speculation which threatens disaster.—The city of New York, center of the wealth of the world, can only find seventeen billion dollars' worth of property to tax. Thousands of billions, concealed in stocks and bonds, escape taxation.—Watch the disintegration of the British Empire: Canada sends her own Ministers to the United States and to France; Ireland to the United States and soon to France; and South Africa threatens to abolish the king.—Spain and Italy are having trouble with dictatorships. Spain has had to arrest several thousand persons and cut the telegraph wires to the outer world. Italy is seeking the help of the movies.—Do the people rule? Sure. On October 15th, the Supreme Court of the United States tells the citizens of New York how much to pay for carfare.—High church and low church in England are loving their neighbors as themselves and Halifax and Major are swatting each other a-plenty.—Philip Snowden is placing practical Socialism on a rock with the burden of taxation on inheritance and big incomes.—A Zeppelin flies to America.—Florida is prostrate with black Florida beneath the white, and the Red Cross on top.

The CRISIS is published monthly and copyrighted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 15 cents a copy, $1.50 a year. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage and while THE CRISIS uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Ethiopia at the Bar of Justice

The Trail of the Buffaloes*

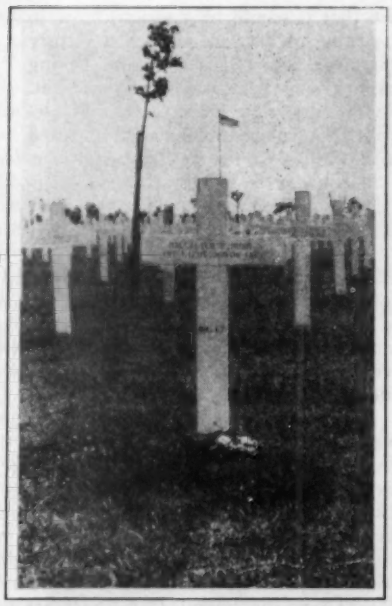
By CHAS. H. GARVIN †

EVERYWHERE, hellish machines of war and wanton destruction. Camouflage! Ingenious and ghastly it stood against the horizon. Guns! Machine guns, partly hidden, with belts of cartridges partly consumed, many partly demolished. Trenches! Shell holes, half filled with slimy water. "Pill-boxes," "dug-outs," many demolished, mere heaps of concrete and stone. Here and there, piles of unused ammunition; empty shells, their deadly tasks performed. Wire! Wire everywhere, barbed and hideous. Rifles, abandoned and rusty; heaps of hand grenades, robbed by the Armistice of performing their deadly tasks. The stench of twisted, battered, decomposed men, long since dead, some crumpled, others with their faces to the sun. The penetrating odor of stale poisonous gases. Graves, hastily made and grotesquely marked, in grimy fields that for four years had literally been "no man's land." Hordes of German soldiers, happily scurrying here and there, preparing to move back across the line to the Vaterland. On either side, towering hills concealed the heavy defence guns of Metz.

This is the picture we saw as we rode along the banks of the tranquil Moselle, toward Metz, just a few hours after the cessation of hostilities —almost ten years ago—November 11th, 1918. The memory of that ride will never be forgotten.

BUT ten years make many changes. Especially noticeable are the changes that have been wrought in the towns "at the front" of impregnable Metz—shell torn, devastated, and blood-soaked by the "Buffaloes." Wheat grows there now, to the right and to the left—precious grain fertilized by the blood of black boys. The old, muddy, blood-stained trenches, weed grown now, are seen scarring the hillsides. It is a tranquil countryside now.

During a recent European trip it was our opportunity to go over this area once again, almost ten years after the Armistice. Three of the most interesting days of our trip were spent "hiking" over those scarred hills of this sacred area around Metz, which had been occupied by the "Buffaloes" during those crucial days preceeding the signing of the Armistice. It occurred to us that a narrative of our experiences and our impressions might interest you and be of especial interest to the many thousands of "Buffaloes" to whom this is hallowed ground, having fought here so valiantly during those closing days of the war. It ought to interest also those Mothers and Fathers whose boys still sleep "over there."



The Grave of Lieutenant M. W. Rush

ON Armistice Day, November, 1918, just three hours after the cessation of hostilities, we were in the city of Metz, evacuating wounded American and Allied prisoners of war. As you will no doubt recall, in October, 1918, the 92nd Division had been sent to this sector, along the Moselle river, in front of Metz, its front line defense varying from ten to fourteen kilometers. Metz had been selected by General Pershing as the next important objective of the American Army and the Buffaloes had been selected to take it. The Buffaloes were to push along both banks of the river in the direction of Corny. Metz, because of its strategic position, was a base of the German army and most powerfully manned by heavy guns, trench mortars, numerous machine guns. Its approach was heavily wired, trenched, mined and fortified in concrete. Thousands of the French had died here in this war and in previous wars and the "poilu" thought this fortress impregnable.

Now, ten years later, we are along this same route. Coming suddenly to the crest of a hill as we drive along, we look down upon fertile valleys, little villages clustered here and there. What a change! Gone are the hellish implements of war. Instead plows. This time our course along the valley is the same, except that we are coming from Metz toward Pont A'Mousson, and our trip, instead of being made in a shell-marked army ambulance, is in two dilapidated Ford taxis, one driven by an Alsatian who had served with the German army and the other by an "ex-poilu."

METZ, as you know, is in Alsace-Lorraine and has been restored to French rule. It has lost, it appeared to us, much of its modern-city-atmosphere, which we noted on our first visit. Even in 1918 it appeared to us as one of the most modern and thriving cities that we had seen in France. We had not been to Paris then. Metz is not a tourist center and the Grand Hotel where we resided—and by the way, we were informed by the concierge that the suite that we occupied had been occupied by the Kaiser on his numerous visits to the Metz front —was almost empty.

From Metz we followed the banks of the Moselle through Ancy-sur-Moselle to Corny—the objective of the "Buffaloes" on that last drive; thence to Noveant-sur-Moselle. It was to Noveant that the 1st Battalion of the 367th Infantry moved after those furious days of fighting to establish a frontier guard for the Allies. We visited the houses in which had been Battalion headquarters and the medical corps headquarters. Its winding streets are just as narrow and muddy, but now it is occupied by unfamiliar faces; then it was an abandoned shell torn town behind the German lines. It was here that the Germans maintained an underground hospital, fully equipped and abundantly supplied.

FROM Noveant we went through Arnaville to Pagny-sur-Moselle. Here as elsewhere the shell-torn fields are under cultivation and only now and then did we come upon a house that had not been rehabilitated, its stone chimney and partly demolished walls standing ghost-like, silhouetted on the skyline, a grim reminder of the past. As we approached Pagny,

(*Will you please turn to page* 385)

* Buffaloes, the name given the 92nd Division.

† Former Captain Medical Corps, 367th Infantry and Commanding Officer, 366th Ambulance Company; now a practicing physician in Cleveland, O.

How Shall we Vote?

A Symposium

I AM FOR HOOVER

Because—

HIS life exemplifies the great American opportunity thrown open to every boy. Here was a farmer lad of humble parentage who by force of character, unflagging determination and devotion to ideals became one of the world's great leaders.

Because—

His experience in ministering to war sufferers and flood sufferers have revealed his broad sympathies for all mankind.

Because—

In the one instance in which he had an opportunity to serve the people of our group he did it without hesitation and without pressure. When he took charge of the Mississippi Flood Relief Committee he stated to a group of colored men that race and color did not enter into the relief program. That human lives were to be saved and whether they be black or white the full resources of their organization would be thrown into the breach to help. The record for the Mississippi Flood Relief work will stand in the minds of millions of colored people as a testimonial of Herbert Hoover's willingness to administer any high office without discrimination and with even-handed justice.

Because—

In his speech of acceptance he emphasized the great need in America for equal opportunity for every one, and if he is elected President it is my candid, frank, and deliberate opinion that he will be the President of all of the people and will give the full prestige of his high office to that program of "equal opportunity" for every American citizen.

JOHN R. HAWKINS, *Chairman, Republican Colored Voters Division.*

SMITH

THE election of Governor Smith would be a fine victory for the cause of tolerance and fair play in America. The moral tone of the whole nation would be better for such a triumph; and every American who suffers from the effects of religious bigotry and racial hatreds would be a beneficiary. The Negro could not be denied participation in these benefits, for the quickened ethical perceptions of the nation—of which such a victory would be a definite indication—would make such exclusion impossible. The colored voter realizes this. He realizes also that it would be a serious blow to the cause of his race if such a victory should be achieved without his having made a substantial contribution to it. For the first time since his enfranchisement, the colored voter is confronted with an opportunity at a national election to use his suffrage for the adancement of his own cause. For the cause of tolerance and fair play is essentially his cause. I earnestly hope and firmly believe that at this election colored voters in overwhelming numbers will be found in the ranks of those Americans who are resolved to banish forever from this Nation religious bigotry and racial hatred.

Incalculable good will come to the Negro in this country if he does, by giving his suffrage to the Democratic candidate for President, prove he is conscious of his duty and obligation as an American citizen. Even in the South, where he feels most keenly the effects of racial prejudice, he will benefit. There the liberal Democrats are leading the fight for Governor Smith, while on the other hand Bourbon Reactionary Democrats and the Lily white Republicans are fighting the battle of the Republican candidate. It is the liberal Democrat in the South to whom the Negro must look for fair play. This election affords the Negro voter in the North an opportunity never before enjoyed by him to help his brother in the South. It is obvious that if we in the North and West help to elect the Democratic candidate for President, the liberal Democrats in the South must inevitably, as a result of such action on our part, feel more kindly toward the Negro there.

The intelligent colored American realizes that the Negro problem, so-called, is no longer a national political issue. He knows that colored people in this country must fight out their destiny in the localities where they live. Nearly half of the colored people in the United States now reside north of the Mason Dixon Line. There they are confronted by new problems and new conditions. If they make intelligent use of their suffrage in their new homes, there will never arise in the North the problem that still confronts the South. In the great cities and industrial centers of the North, we must make common cause politically with the workers with whom we are identified industrially and economically. The great majority of these workers realize that their interests will be best served by the election of Governor Smith and they are supporting his candidacy. If we are to survive industrially and economically in the North, we must have the good will of the working classes. We can do much to gain this good will by helping to elect Governor Smith, the candidate for President, whose election will best serve the interest and welfare of the working people.

As long as the Negro vote is the property of one political party, he can not use it to his own advantage. He can use it to his own advantage only if he divides it. In the coming election, colored voters should give their suffrage to Governor Smith if for no other reason than to establish the fact that they are politically independent. The ballot is the most potent weapon we have in our fight for the recognition of our constitutional rights. We must use this weapon. If we prove at this election that we are conscious of the power of our ballot and regard it as our own property and not the property of the Republican party, we shall not only earn the respect of the Nation, but we shall place ourselves in a position of strategic advantage politically.

FERDINAND Q. MORTON, *Civil Service Commissioner, New York City.*

THOMAS

I AM going to vote for Norman Thomas. I am going to vote for the Socialist Ticket. I vote for Thomas because he is a fine upstanding man who has not been afraid to champion the unpopular cause, and laying aside a clear opportunity to be well-to-do and respectable, he has taken the more difficult road of working for the emancipation of the laboring classes. He recognizes the Negro as a part of the laboring class, and while he has not said much, distinctly and clearly, about the colored races and their tremendous significance for industrial democracy, he has said something, and that is more than either Smith or Hoover, Hughes or Harding. Cox or Wilson ever did. But after all, the chief reason for voting for Thomas is that he is a Socialist. Many men understand many things under Socialism, but I understand an attempt to rearrange work and industry, wages and income, on a basis of reason, need and desert, rather than leaving them to chance and the rule of the strong, as is the case today over so large a part of the world. I do not pretend to know as to just how this can be accomplished but I insist that we must try to do it (*Will you please turn to page* 386)

THE N.A.A.C.P. BATTLE FRONT

COLOR DISCRIMINATION IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

FOR many years there has been protest and complaint about the treatment of colored Americans in the Civil Service at Washington, D. C. It has always, however, been difficult to make these charges definite. First, because the discrimination itself is indefinite and changes from administration to administration, and from year to year. Secondly, because it is hard to get reliable testimony. Those clerks who are already discriminated against are not anxious to invite further discrimination or even dismissal by making public complaint.

There has always been more or less color discrimination in Government Service. Before Emancipation there were no Negro employees except messengers and laborers. During Reconstruction when Negroes began to enter the Civil Service, they were by common consent or express order, segregated in parts of rooms or in rooms by themselves. Appointments in the Civil Service, even after reformed methods and examinations came in, were difficult to obtain by colored applicants.

Then, as the political influence of Negroes increased and trained colored applicants appeared, a larger number were appointed and it was more difficult to maintain racial discrimination. During the administrations of Cleveland, Harrison and McKinley race discrimination in government departments was at a minimum. The advent of the Wilson Administration in 1913 marked a determined effort to put Negro Civil Service Servants "in their places". It is rumored that the first Mrs. Woodrow Wilson started the effort when she discovered

"Miss California"
Miss Rosalind De Priest, $511

that white and Negro clerks were eating together in some instances. After the Wilson Administration, in some cases, the Republicans increased the segregation, and in other cases they gave it up. The large number of clerks employed during the war brought in new color contacts and problems.

AT present, two separate investigations made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, give the following situation, which seems to be as near an approximation of the truth as it is possible to get.

As to general color discrimination, there are the following facts:

(1) Applicants for Civil Service positions are required to furnish a photograph. There are many reasons for this but there can be little doubt that the chief consequence is to enable the appointing power to weed out colored applicants. This has been openly acknowledged in many cases, and especially in such cases as those where the applicants did not look "colored" in their photographs.

(2) There is much unfair treatment in matters of rating and promotion. As, for instance, in the Washington City Post Office, white carriers get preferred routes and Negro clerks are never assigned to window duty or promoted beyond the grade of Special Clerk. They are never made Foremen or Assistant Foremen. In the Bureau of Engraving and Printing no colored woman has ever been appointed to the clerical staff, although there is no question but what they could do the work. There are probably other cases of this sort.

Specific cases of open discrimination are not as widespread or as flagrant as they have been in the past or as many people have been led to believe. There is apparently no discrimination in the Departments of Agriculture, Department of Labor, or the State Department. There seems to be little, if any, in the War Department, and although there used to be a whole segregated wing of colored clerks in the Census Bureau, this has been abolished, and no segregation is apparent there today.

In some of these cases there is no segregation because there are either no colored clerks at all or very few. On the other hand, there are cases where white and colored clerks in appreciable

(*Will you please turn to page* 387)

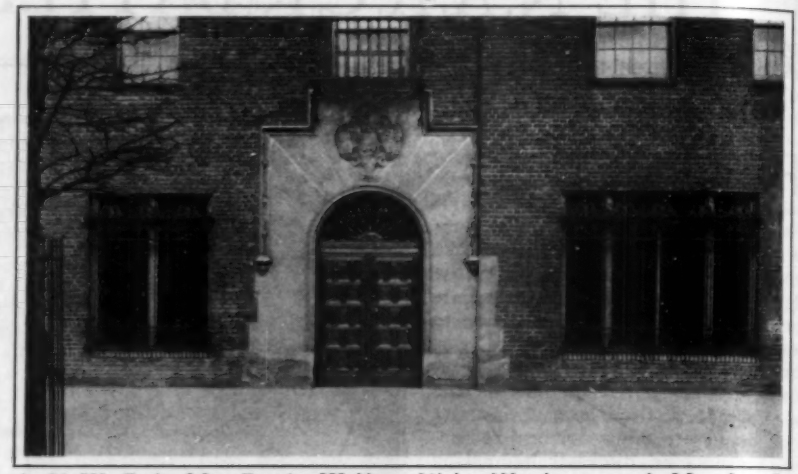
California N. A. A. C. P. Popularity Contest

Miss Velma White	*Miss Juanita Ellsworth*	*Miss Yolanda Colomb*	*Miss Reverdia Woods*	*Miss Dorothy Patton*
$400	$341	$261	$252	$223

The Dunbar National Bank

THE Dunbar National Bank was opened in Harlem in September. It is located in the Dunbar Apartments at 2824 Eighth Avenue and 150th Street. It has a capital and surplus of over a million dollars, and the Board of Directors is white, with the exception of Mr. Roscoe C. Bruce, Resident Manager of the Dunbar Apartments. The bank is conducted by three technical experts who are white: the President being Joseph D. Higgins; the Vice President, Arthur H. Thien; and the Cashier, George S. Loomis.

The operating staff is entirely Negro: the Paying Teller is Garnet R. Waller, who for ten years has been in the employ of H. O. Wilson, a colored banker of Baltimore. Before that, he was in government work during the war, and was employed by the Mutual Benefit Society. He is the



son of the Reverend Garnet R. Waller, a Baptist minister of Springfield, Massachusetts, and one of the Directors of the N. A. A. C. P.

The Receiving Teller is Cyril A. Wilson, who was born in Barbados, and who has been for the past six years employed by the Seaboard National Bank in various capacities, the last of which was that of Assistant Receiving Teller.

The Bookkeeper is John P. Quander, Jr., who was formerly Auditor of the Black Swan Phonograph Company and the Northeastern Life Insurance Company. He was in the Quarter Master Department during the war and for twelve years was in the Philippine Constabulary.

In charge of Thrift Accounts is Miss Mae C. Hawes, a graduate of Atlanta University, and a Master of Arts of Columbia. She was formerly employed by the National Council of the Y. W. C. A. Mrs. Bernice Wolfe-Greene is Stenographer; Mr. Joshua H. Williams, in charge of the Safety Vault; Lieutenant John A. McDonald of the 369th Infantry, is Special Patrolman, Mr. William B. Smith Night Watchman, and Mr. Ira J. Williams, Messenger.

THE object of this arrangement of the bank's officers and employees, is stated by persons in authority as follows:

(1) "The present organization and personnel of the Bank are such as to place the institution at once upon the most cordial and helpful terms with the other financial institutions of the City, a matter of vital import.

(2) "Under three technical experts,—the President, the Vice-President, the Cashier,—the Negro operating staff can and will receive the best possible training in the exacting technique of banking under New York City conditions.

(3) "The advancement without limit of any Negro employee depends entirely upon his own comparative character, ability and devotion."

As to the further representation of

(*Will you please turn to page* 387)

The Little Page

By EFFIE LEE NEWSOME

Calendar Chat

I HAVE written many times about the Norway spruce hedge on the north side of a yard that was so long "home" to me. The hedge was planted there in the same year that the American soldiers were sailing off to fight in Cuba. That was in 1898, a long time ago. But the hedge is barely more than five feet tall, for it is cut every spring. June and July of this year found the catbirds nesting and hovering there, though I have always consigned this hedge to the song sparrows in my mind. They used to monopolize it. But at this autumn season more than the birds are finding refuge there. The rabbits are diving under it to get away from the hunters.

These little creatures of all those wonderful tales, far older than Uncle Remus's, have had joyous gambols over people's yards and gardens this summer and had many terrible crimes charged to them by the farmers. Indeed they were in the sweet pea beds at the home place nibbling and shaking off the dainty scarlet and lavender and pink blooms. I would catch them there early in the morning when they thought the world belonged to them and the quail. But autumn is hide and seek time and the hunted life is dreading mankind.

Autumn meant for us children nut hunting. We would go after black walnuts. Some of the black walnut wood had furnished gunstocks for the rabbit hunters, by the way. We used to take the green husks off without any thought of stained fingers and lay the nuts out in the warm autumn sun to season. When they were ripe and rich we would make candy of them as Mexicans make their pecan candy and as people of South Carolina make what they call "pinder cakes" of peanuts.

Turkeys

WE knew that it really wasn't the right thing to do, to "cut through the seminary yard." Yet it seemed such a convenient route, especially when one was a little late for school. So we frequently used the small path beaten by many another trespasser to speed through the opening in the osage fence that marked the end of the trail.

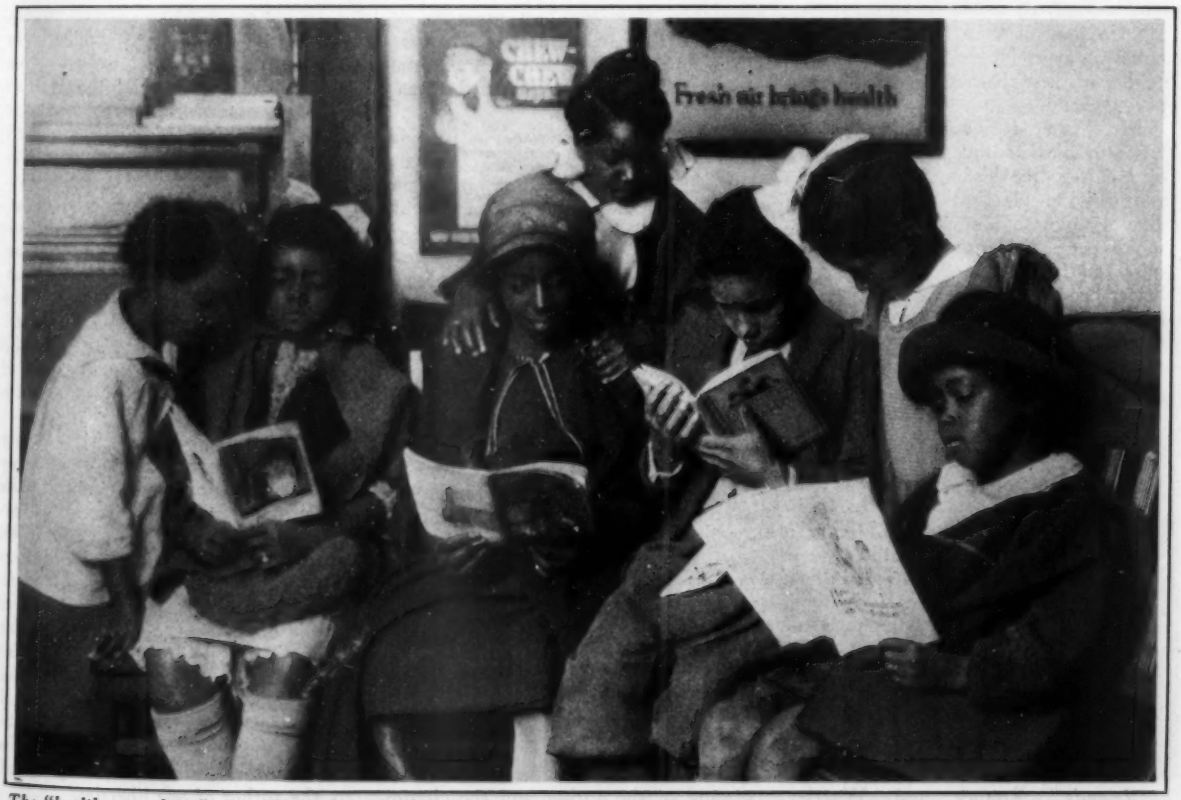
But often the short cut meant unpleasant adventure. A turkey lived in the seminary yard and grazed about as though he owned the grounds. He would charge upon travelers at his pleasure and keep children in constant dread. To us he seemed immense. His legs were so long and purposeful.

We would be hurrying through the yard when he would strut out with powerful strides and aim straight for use. He would spread his great fan tail and swing it slightly while his wings brushed the ground. Worst of all was his "Gobble, gobble, gobble."

The "last" bell would be ringing for school; our hearts would be fluttering, for often we had forgotten to bring twigs with which to meet Mr. Parker's terrible gobbler. Mr. Parker was a cook in the seminary and owner of the dreaded turkey.

The wild turkeys that the Pilgrim Fathers feasted upon in New England were larger than Mr. Parker's fowl. They used to trail through the woods in great hosts and dine upon tender young frogs and grass and grain and seeds and fruit. The fledglings enjoyed cockle-burs. The wild turkey's nest, a mat of dry leaves in some out

(*Will you please turn to page* 386)



The "health story hour" at a clinic where medical treatment and health education keep these youngsters at par physically. This and other phases of the campaign of the National Tuberculosis Association is financed by the annual sale of Christmas seals.

THE BROWSING READER

"The Walls of Jericho." A Novel by Rudolph Fisher, Knopf. $2.50.

THIS is another story of Harlem, following the footsteps of "Nigger Heaven" and "Home to Harlem." The casual reader wading through the first third of the book might think it nothing else but a following of these pathfinders into the half-world north of 125th Street. But a little persistence and a knowledge of what Rudolph Fisher has already accomplished in his remarkable short stories, will bring reward. For the main story of a piano mover and a housemaid is a well done and sincere bit of psychology. It is finely worked out with a delicate knowledge of human reactions. If the background were as sincere as the main picture, the novel would be a masterpiece. But the background is a shade too sophisticated and unreal. Mr. Fisher likes his two characters, Jinx and Bubber, and lingers over them; but somehow, to the ordinary reader, they are only moderately funny, a little smutty and certainly not humanly convincing. Their conversation has some undoubted marks of authenticity, for this kind of keen repartee is often heard among Negro laborers. But neither of these characters seems human like Shine.

Mr. Fisher does not yet venture to write of himself and his own people; of Negroes like his mother, his sister and his wife. His real Harlem friends and his own soul nowhere yet appear in his pages, and nothing that can be mistaken for them. The glimpses of better class Negroes which he gives us are poor, ineffective make-believes. One wonders why? Why does Mr. Fisher fear to use his genius to paint his own kind, as he has painted Shine and Linda? Perhaps he doubts the taste of his white audience although he tries it severely with Miss Cramp. Perhaps he feels too close to his own to trust his artistic detachment in limning them. Perhaps he really laughs at all life and believes nothing. At any rate, here is a step upward from Van Vechten and McKay—a strong, long, interesting step. We hope for others.

"The Bahamas Handbook." By Mary Moseley. The Nassau Guardian. Bahamas, B. W. I.

"The Early Settlers of the Bahamas Islands." Rounce and Wortley, England.

BOOKS

American Negro authors have published over 20 important books in the last two years. White authors have written 15 books about Negroes which Negroes ought to read. Periodicals are filled with articles on the Negro in the United States, the West Indies, and Africa. How many of these books do you own? How many of these periodicals are on your table? Why not write immediately to THE CRISIS *and secure lists and prices? Christmas is coming.*

These two books come to us to add needed knowledge among American Negroes of the West Indies. They have, of course, the difficulty of all books written and published in the West Indies: they ignore the color line so elaborately that one seldom knows when they are talking of colored people and when they are talking of white people. Nevertheless, if one remembers that the vast majority of those who live in the West Indies are of acknowledged or unacknowledged Negro descent, there is much information that one can gain.

A correspondent writes: "As you will see by the 'Handbook', we are now pretty widely known as one of the greatest winter resorts in the world, and thousands of people come in from all over. But unfortunately very few Negroes. And being so closely associated with the United States, I am sure that if we were better known among the travelling element of our race, we would get quite a few representative Negroes here from time to time. And anything that you may be able to publish from the books sent up by me in THE CRISIS, from time to time, showing the advantages to be had by spending a vacation in the Bahamas, would be greatly appreciated. This summer we have had for the first time, the 'Colored Embalmers Association' to meet here."

"Black Democracy." The Story of Haiti. By H. P. Davis. New York. MacVeagh, 1928.

THIS is a curious work. To understand it something of the background of the author and the circumstances of his writing must be known. For thirteen years H. P. Davis has been an open or secret agent of the American Government in Haiti. During the Great War he headed a contract to furnish castor oil beans, but at the end of the War the contract was canceled for a large sum, which went to certain firms which he represented in the United States. Mr. Davis was then without work and undoubtedly suffered often at the hands of the American officials. His attitude is, therefore, the attitude of one who believes in American domination in Haiti, but wishes to supplant the present military occupation. Perhaps Mr. Davis himself would like to be High Commissioner.

He has, therefore, undertaken to write a history of Haiti to prove his thesis and forward his claims. He is not an historian, but his book is readable, and on the whole, favorable to the Haitian people. Nevertheless, it has serious defects. The first part of 140 pages runs from earliest times to 1908. The story here is sympathetically told, but unconsciously or purposely, Mr. Davis is led far astray in his estimates of certain great leaders, particularly Dessalines. Evidently he has taken his picture of Dessalines from the French. And of all the Haitian leaders, Dessalines has been hated most by the whites because he was their most terrible enemy. It is not true that Dessalines massacred 10,000 mulattoes, and it was his generous treatment of his adversaries that made possible the united front of the Haitians during the war for independence. Outside of some unfortunate lapses like this, there is no doubt but that Mr. Davis has tried to write an impartial history, and he tells again the story of Haiti's unselfish help of South America:

"Haiti did, however, give a hearty welcome to Simon Bolivar and many Venezuelan families driven into exile by the Spaniards in 1816. Petion extended to them all the assistance in his power and secretly equipped Bolivar with rifles, powder, cartridges, and all kinds of provisions. Petion was moved to this dangerous and generous action by his sincere desire to assist in freeing the slaves of South America, and Bolivar promised to abolish slavery in all provinces he might liberate. After freeing Venezuela, Bolivar sent Petion his beautiful gold sword, in gratitude to 'the author of our liberties.'"

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ALONG THE COLOR LINE

NEW ENGLAND

¶ William E. Harrison of Roxbury, Mass., has been awarded a Price Greenleaf Scholarship by Harvard University on the basis of his record at the school in which he was prepared for college and on his entrance examinations. This scholarship carries with it a stipend of $400.

THE MIDDLE STATES

¶ Mrs. Regina Anderson Andrews, of New York City, recently has been appointed Assistant Branch Librarian of the 115th Street Branch of the Public Library of that city. Formerly Mrs. Andrews has held the positions of Assistant at the 135th Street Branch of the library and of Assistant Children's Librarian of the Woodstock Branch. Mrs. Andrews studied at the Chicago Library School and at the Columbia University Library School.

¶ In the recent Y. W. C. A. contest for the "Ideal Girl Reserve", Miss Mary Pelah Cobbs of Bayonne, N. J., won first place. A picture of Miss Cobbs was presented to the Girl Reserve Department of the Jersey City branch of the Y. W. C. A.

Miss Mary P. Cobbs

¶ Dr. E. Elliot Rawlins, one of Harlem's best known physicians, died recently in New York City. Dr. Rawlins was born 45 years ago in the island of St. Kitts, B. W. I., and was brought as a child to New York City, where he studied in the public schools. In 1905 he received his medical degree from the Long Island College and Hospital.

¶ Carl Diton has just completed an extraordinary tour. Leaving Philadelphia last October with his wife, he made a 9 months' tour of 33,000 miles in his automobile. He sang, played, lectured, and gave organ recitals in 140 different concerts. Mr. Diton's program consisted of classical groups by Scarlatti, Montevarde, Handel and others, German and Austrian lieder songs by Debussy, and other French masters, modern English songs and Negro songs and spirituals. Mr. Diton plans a European tour this fall.

¶ Hal Roach's "Our Gang" is touring the United States. "Farina", the small colored star, is with them. Because the Roosevelt Hotel, New York City, refused to accommodate "Farina", the "gang" took residence at the Park Central Hotel.

¶ A group of twelve Negro spirituals, "Spiritual Fantasia", by Aaron Harrison, arranged to obtain a classi-

At the Dedication of the Madam C. J. Walker Building, Indianapolis
R. R. Moton, J. B. Ransom, Fred R. Moore, William Pickens, R. L. Brockenburr, and others, *page 378*

Miss Lulu Ballard
National Champion
American Tennis Association

cal setting, has been accepted by the Symphony Club of Philadelphia. Mr. Harrison, who is the director of the Harrison Musical Studios, Philadelphia, will conduct the rehearsals.

¶ A new dormitory for men at Cheyney Institute, Pa., was dedicated recently and named Burleigh Hall, in honor of Harry T. Burleigh.

¶ Through action taken by the local N. A. A. C. P., under the leadership of Dr. William Parks, president of the Asbury Park, N. J., branch, the segregation of Negroes on the ocean beach by Asbury Park police officers has been stopped.

WASHINGTON AND VIRGINIA

¶ Fifteen states and a total membership of 14,000 were represented at the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers at its annual convention held in Charleston, W. Va., recently. The convention was well attended by delegates, teachers, and educational officials. Mrs. H. R. Butler of Atlanta, Ga., is president.

¶ Dr. Winfield Scott Montgomery died recently at Washington, D. C., at the age of 75 years. Dr. Montgomery, who was born of slave parentage in Mississippi in 1853, migrated to Vermont with a regiment of volunteers which was stationed at New Orleans after the Civil War. Entering Dartmouth in 1873, Dr. Montgomery was graduated with the Phi Beta Kappa key in 1878. Since that time he has held many important positions in the Washington, D. C., public school system, among them: principal of the Good Hope School; supervising principal and principal of the old M Street High School; and assistant superintendent in charge of colored schools.

Dr. Edgar Brown
National Champion
American Tennis Association

¶ Hampton Institute opened its 61st year with a registration of 1,040 students, as compared with 887 last year. Over 600 students are in the college.

¶ The National Benefit Life Insurance Company, Washington, showed

Nana Sir Ofori Atta, Paramount Chief of the Akim Abuakwa, Gold Coast, West Africa, Knight of the British Empire, in his Ceremonial Robes and Gold Crown, with Attendants

Miss Gertrude N. Ntlabati, A.B., page 379

in its last annual statement $5,000,000 in assets, $75,000,000 of insurance in force, 300,000 policy holders, a field force of 1500 persons, and 300 employees in the home office. It recently paid a 10% dividend of $25,000 on its capital stock. It is 30 years old and its President is R. H. Rutherford.

¶ In 1916, Thomas Jesse Jones of the Phelps Stokes Fund, conducted for the Bureau of Education a study of the private and higher schools for colored people in the United States. In 1927, the Bureau of Education has sent out advance notice of a second survey. In 1916, there were 31 Negro institutions with college work, having 2,132 Negro students, and an income of $2,283,000. In 1927, there were 77 colleges, with 13,680 students and an annual income of $8,560,000. In 1916, the value of the physical plants was $15,720,000, which had increased to $38,680,000 in 1927. Productive endowments had increased from $7,225,000, yielding $361,250 annually, to $20,713,000, yielding $1,071,300.

¶ This Survey was conducted by the State Departments of Education in 19 states with the co-operation of 79 Negro institutions. the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth, the Phelps Stokes Fund, and the educational boards and foundations of seven chief bodies. The Survey was under the direction of Dr. Arthur J. Klein, Chief of the Division of Higher Education of the Bureau of Education, with a committee of white university men. The Universities and Colleges surveyed, included: 5 in Alabama; 3 in Arkansas; 1 in Delaware; 1 in the District of Columbia; 3 in Florida; 9 in Georgia; 2 in Kentucky; 5 in Louisiana; 3 in Maryland; 5 in Mississippi; 1 in Missouri; 12 in North Carolina; 1 in Oklahoma; 1 in Ohio; 2 in Pennsylvania; 5 in South Carolina; 8 in Tennessee; 8 in Texas; 4 in Virginia; 1 in West Virginia.

¶ The Seventy-nine institutions have four types of government: 22 are under state control; 9 are under independent boards of trustees; 31 are under Northern white church boards; 17 are owned and governed by Negro church organizations.

¶ The Department of Labor has issued a statement of the Negroes employed by the United States Government. In 1910, there were 22,940 employees with salaries aggregating $12,456,760. In 1928, June 30th, there were 51,882 employees receiving $64,483,133. The chief number employed are as follows:

Post Office Department, 25,390.
The War Department, 5,914.
The Navy Department, 5,427.
The Treasury Department, 5,407.
District of Columbia Government, 3,674.
Public Buildings and Parks, 1,189.
The Department of Agriculture, 1,086.
Government Printing Office, 934.
Department of Commerce, 686.
United States Veterans' Bureau, 495.
Department of the Interior, 459.
The Capitol, 187.
The National Military Home, 181.
The Smithsonian Institution, 161.
The General Accounting Office, 143.

¶ The average salaries paid amounted to $1,243 a year, showing that an overwhelming number of these employees are laborers, messengers and char-women. There is reason to believe that the number of clerks holding decently paid positions is proportionately smaller than in previous years, with the possible exception of the Post Office Department.

THE BORDER STATES

¶ The National Negro Bankers Association met in Louisville during September. Anthony Overton, Chicago; Jesse Binga, Chicago; C. C. Spaulding, Durham, N. C.; Bishop G. C. Clement, Louisville; and J. O. Blanton, Louisville spoke.

¶ The colored department of the Louisville Public Library has 94 centers for the circulation of books and 26,568 volumes. The total circulation was 149,526. Thomas F. Blue is Librarian.

¶ Fisk University opened its 58th year with 457 students. Among those who join the faculty are Charles S. Johnson, as head of the Department of Social Science, B. K. Edwards, Professor of Economics, Miss Jane E. McAllister, Professor of Education, Sterling A. Brown, Professor of Literature, Horace Mann Bond, Instructor in History, and Miss Edith E. Baker, Instructor in Theory and Business School Music.

¶ The National Baptist Convention, Inc., held a six days' session at Louisville, Kentucky, with several thousand delegates. Mayor Harrison and Governor Sampson addressed the Convention.

THE SOUTHEAST

¶ The white citizens of Durham, N. C., recently gave $50,000 toward the erection of an administration building at the North Carolina College for Negroes, to supplement $100,000 given by the State Legislature.

¶ Asa H. Gordon, for ten years connected with the South Carolina State A. & M. College at Orangeburg as director of the Social Science Department, has accepted the position of Dean of the College of Liberal Arts at the Georgia State College at Savannah.

¶ The Reverend John H. Lewis has resigned his position as president of Morris Brown University, located at Atlanta, Ga. Mr. Lewis, who has been at Morris Brown for eight years, gives as his reason for resignation the unfortunate financial condition of the institution which prevents the realization of its ideals.

¶ The Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation in Atlanta is offering to High School students three cash prizes, aggregating $100 for papers on "America's Tenth Man". High School pupils are eligible. The object is to encourage a study of the Negro's part in American history.

Donald G. S. Mtimkulu, page 379

¶ Atlanta University opened its 60th year with an enrollment of 300. Among the new teachers are Miss J. E. Guernsey, Education, Hans Naether, German, Miss H. M. Cross, French, George E. Singleton, Business.

¶ Spelman College opened with 135 students in college and 172 in the high school grades. Dr. Louise B. Wallace, formerly a Professor of Zoology at Mount Holyoke College, will teach Biology.

¶ Mrs. Mary M. Bethune writes that it is impossible to tell of the destruction and suffering among colored people in Florida as a result of the hurricane: "Suffice it to say that the lower East Coast of Florida lies prostrated. Delray, Pleasant City, Palm Beach, West Palm Beach, Canal Point, Bellglade, Panoke, all have been seriously struck. Never before in my life have I witnessed such suffering, and so many homeless people. The Coast has been raked and scraped from Pompano to Stuart. The storm was the most violent ever known in that section. In its rage, it brought all persons down to a common level of mutual help. Little has been left of the homes and business places of the Negroes in West Palm Beach. School houses have been destroyed—every church, save one, in the entire city, is demolished. All of the public buildings are destroyed. . . . The distress among the poor people in the everglades is great. They were drowned by the hundreds. Great trucks—heaped high with dead bodies—white and black—men, women and children, were buried without being identified—many of them having no one left to identify them. Steam shovels were used in the colored and white cemeteries to dig the trenches in which this great mass of stricken humanity was laid to rest."

THE MIDDLE WEST

¶ Mildred Bryant Jones of Chicago has been granted the degree of Doctor of Music by the National University of Music, Chicago. Mrs. Jones was born in Macon, Georgia; educated at Fisk, the New England Conservatory of Music, and Northwestern University. She received her degree of Bachelor of Music from the Lyceum Arts Conservatory, 1921 and in 1923 the degree of Master of Music from the Cosmopolitan School of Music and Dramatic Art, Chicago. She has studied voice culture in New York City; the violin in Louisville; and harmony, orchestration and composition in Chicago. Two summers she spent abroad studying the opera in France, Italy and Germany. From 1909 to 1918, she was Supervisor of Music in the Louisville Public Schools, and for the last eight years, she has been Director of Music in the day and evening schools at the Wendell Phillips Senior High School, Chicago.

¶ A scholarship at the University of Illinois has been awarded Lawsen Miller of Chicago, through Samuel Insull, public utilities magnate. Mr. Miller, who is a recent graduate from the Wendell Phillips High School, was an honor student, editor of the school paper, and was a member of the star lightweight basketball team that won the city championship last winter.

Dr. Mildred Bryant Jones

¶ The summer school for workers in industry at Madison, Wis., consists of working men and women who are given six weeks intensive courses in English, history, physical education, economics, etc., prepared especially for them. A large number of these students were working as ushers during the past session in order to see the University plays without cost. When one of the students was refused a position as usher because of her color, all the other student ushers gave up their chance to see the plays.

¶ The tenth annual convention of the National Association of Negro Musicians met at Detroit, Mich., late in August. J. Wesley Jones, Chicago, Ill., was elected president; Mrs. Camille Nickerson, Washington, D. C., corresponding secretary; and George Hutchison, Chicago, Ill., treasurer. It was announced that Harold Brown, colored composer of Indianapolis, was the first prize winner of the Wanamaker award for orchestra compositions. This award carries with it a cash prize of $250.

¶ Bishop Joseph C. Hartzell, founder of Meharry Medical College, died recently at Cincinnati, O., at the age of 86 years. Bishop Hartzell was active in church work in Africa for twenty years, having developed an educational, industrial and missionary center in Rhodesia. He was born June 1, 1842, near Moline, Ill. After his high school education at Moline, he worked his way through Illinois Wesleyan University.

¶ The eleventh annual national convention of the Madam C. J. Walker Agents was held recently at Indianapolis, Ind. Hundreds of Walker Agents and many prominent men and women came from twenty-six states to witness the official dedication of the new Walker building, and to take part in the convention procedure.

¶ With 15,000 delegates and members in attendance, the 24th B. M. C. Grand United Order of Odd Fellows met in its five-day session recently in Chicago.

¶ Miss Rebecca Davis of Cleveland, O., sailed for Africa late in August, to initiate rural work among women, under the auspices of the Jeanes Foundation.

TRANS MISSISSIPPI

¶ The inspector of Negro schools for the state of Missouri declares that 50% of the Negro children, living mostly in cities, receive adequate elementary and secondary free public schools. Of the other 25,000 Negro youth, 3,000 get no schools at all, 14,000 get poor ungraded schools, 5,000 get ordinary elementary schools, but poor secondary training.

¶ W. L. Hutcherson, executive secretary of the Wichita, Kansas, branch of the Y. M. C. A., has been appointed by the Probate Judge of Sedgwick County to serve on an advisory board of fifteen persons, for the newly completed County Boys' Farm. Mr. Hutcherson is the only Negro Member serving on this commission.

¶ The State Building and Loan Association of St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn., recently appointed George Bryant, colored, as state manager of the Association. Mr. Bryant will have complete charge of all investments among the colored people of Minnesota.

LOUISIANA AND THE SOUTH-WEST

¶ D. J. Wallace, director of the Security Life Insurance Co., and an attorney of Okmulgee, Okla., died recently at that city at the age of 70 years.

¶ Ministers and laymen from forty-eight states took part in the 49th annual session of the National Baptist Convention of America, which convened in Shreveport, La., early in September. Over $300,000 in business during the past fiscal year was reported by the Publishing House as the gross operation of the institution. This is an increase of more than $20,000 over the year 1926-27.

¶ A new colored high school building, modern in every respect and costing $45,000, was opened in North Little Rock, Ark., in September. In keeping with the custom of naming school buildings in honor of some notable citizen, the school board named the school the Scipio A. Jones High School.

¶ An investigation of the penal system of Texas has revealed the fact that 4,000 prisoners, most of them Negro workers, are ruled by whip and blood-hound terror on the prison farms of that state. This is true of the main penitentiary at Huntsville as well as the twelve prison farms. If a convict does not work as hard as the guard thinks he should, he is given solitary confinement on dry bread and water. When he returns to work, if he is too weak to work as hard as formerly, he is bound to a post and lashed with a heavy thong.

THE PACIFIC AND MOUNTAIN STATES

¶ The Inter-racial Committee of San Diego, Calif., and The Little Gallery, held its first exhibition of contemporary Negro art in San Diego on September 16th.

¶ A protracted fight against colored citizens of Los Angeles, Calif., occupying residences in the exclusive Crestmore residential district terminated recently when the State Supreme Court ruled that Negroes might buy property in the area, but they could not occupy it.

¶ Frederick M. Roberts, a colored man, was re-nominated for a sixth term in the California Legislature in the recent primary elections. In all of the precincts known as the "colored" precincts, Assemblyman Roberts was the choice over his opponent by majorities ranging from two to one to more than three to one.

THE WEST INDIES

¶ Silvio Cator of Haiti, runner-up at Amsterdam in the Olympic broad jump, broke the world's record for that event in an international meet held at Paris, when he leaped 7.93 metres, or 26 feet 27/128 inch.

¶ The Virgin Islands Fish Industries, Inc., with headquarters at St. Thomas, and with a capital of $15,000, has been organized by a group of citizens who have been studying the undeveloped resources of the Virgin Islands.

¶ Cuba's foremost poet, Vincenta Silveira Arjona, Negro, died recently at his home in Oouajay, Cuba. Mr. Arjona was a dominant figure in Cuban literature for more than three decades.

SOUTH AFRICA

¶ The South African Native College under the Presidency of D. D. T. Jabavu, B. A. (London), is situated at Fort Hare, Alice, Cape Province, South Africa. It was established by the natives after long effort and is recognized as an official part of the University of South Africa. At the last Commencement, May 30th, the College for the first time, presented candidates for degrees, and H. M. Scott, Director of Education in the Transvaal Province, bestowed the following degrees: Gertrude N. Ntlabati, Bachelor of Arts; Benjamin Mahlasela, Bachelor of Arts; Donald Guy Sidney Mtimkulu, Bachelor of Arts. Mr. Scott said in conferring the degrees: "This ceremony to-day is more memorable than those which have preceded it for two reasons. In the first place the standard of attainment reached marks a higher level than has ever been reached before and we must congratulate not only the student concerned but also the Institution. Moreover the day is particularly memorable because I have just conferred in the name of the University a degree upon a woman of the Native races and this is the first time that a woman has won this distinction in South Africa."

¶ An extraordinary movement has taken place in South African trade unionism. The Amalgamated Laundry Cleaners and Dyers Union, white,

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Women's Auxiliary, N. A. A. C. P., Kansas City, Mo.

THE FAR HORIZON

THE "SOLID IVORY" SOUTH

THE CRISIS is delighted over the political situation in the South. We admit that our delight is schadenfreude, meanness, and all that. Nevertheless, we ask if anyone can read the painfully conceived editorial below and not feel an inclination to snicker, and perhaps even to whoop. It is from our old friend, the Charleston, South Carolina, *News and Courier:*

The Southern states will vote for Smith and Robinson. Whatever the disaffection, whatever the spirit of resentment, whatever the pain on the part of devoted prohibitionists, they will support the Democratic ticket, because they must. Their good sense will convince them of it.

The presence of the Negroes as potential voters ties the prohibitionists to the Democratic party. In South Carolina are now about 875,000 Negroes and about 925,000 whites.

The white people cannot divide into two parties without letting many Negro voters into both. If the Negroes are used as voters they will be used as office-holders.

Since Mr. Taft took office in 1908, the Southern white people have not been harassed by Republican administrations with appointments of Negroes, and a frame of mind has been induced upon them that this menace to their safety and peace has been wholly removed.

What they have forgotten is that in this same twenty years the contacts of the federal government with the private affairs and interests of the citizens have been multiplied by ten or twenty. They forgot what might take place when they ratified the Eighteenth amendment and their congressmen voted for the Volstead act. They forgot that, one day, Negroes might be appointed as federal prohibition enforcers. The Volstead act is a "force bill."

Federal prohibition agents are federal police officers.

In South Carolina are about 200,000 Negroes of voting age. If 50,000 of them vote the Republican ticket, they will demand their rewards and will receive them. Some of them will be appointed to office. That statment proves itself. Probably, in Northern cities, are a few Negro prohibition agents now.

In South Carolina there is not a Prohibition Democrat who would be willing for the home of a suspected "wet" to be raided by a Negro agent. Nor would he have white men and white women in automobiles subject to be halted and searched by colored men.

In Mr. Taft's administration there was no federal income tax, no collectors and auditors looking into the citizen's books. There was no Harrison narcotic act, with federal enforcers, in those days.

In these twenty years laws have been passed whereby the federal government enters, at will, into every man's and every woman's kitchen, office, store, bedroom, bathroom. Its agents tap the telephone wires and eavesdrop a conversation at a man's fireside if it is their wish. It is their right. The supreme court so has decided.

Twenty years ago the federal government seldom touched the average man. A few deputy collectors raided a few mountain moonshiners, the collector of the port here had to do with shippers, and other people would scarcely have known by personal association that there was a federal government except from the postoffice.

All that is changed now. "Uncle Sam" walks with us arm in arm. He crosses his legs under our tables. When he is in good humor he is a welcome guest, but when he is prying he isn't.

The *News and Courier* has no delight in talking about the Negro question; its disposition toward the Negroes is not unkind, but we have got to keep the Negroes out of government in the South or get out of the South ourselves.

The federal government having become intimate with all of us, having taken a seat in the family circle, which it did not do formerly, it is for the South to watch.

If the whites divide, the Negroes vote.

If the Negroes vote, they get a share of the offices.

Prohibition agents and income tax deputies are federal officers.

These officers get closer to us than do other officers.

The Southern white prohibitionists will turn against national prohibition and vote for a "wet" candidate for president, pledged to uphold the right of each state to deal with the liquor traffic question in its own way, before they will take the chance of creating an angry division of the white people and having the South infested with Negro prohibition agents and income tax investigators.

Of course the South will vote for Smith and Robinson.

The spectacle of a South Carolina colored gentlemen inspecting a white Colonel's baggage for liquor reduces us darn near to tears.

PREJUDICE

DR. HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK preached a sermon sometime ago on Prejudice. Parts of it are worth quoting:

When, therefore, today you hear a man say, "I hate Jews, Roman Catholics, Japanese, Negroes," you are dealing with a belated mind. That man may dress like a modern, ride in an automobile, listen over the radio, but his mind is properly dated about a thousand B. C. Long ago those ancient isolations and barricades began to break down. Long ago the Roman Empire poured them into a melting pot and the Christian church organized them into a spiritual kingdom. Long ago science, giving us new means of communication and multiplied contacts, tied humanity into one bundle so that the only way we now can live well is to live well together. Long ago great souls like Dante said, "As for us, the world is the fatherland," and yet we still have with us belated minds that poison our life with prejudice.

How absurd are some of our prejudiced exclusions! When our friend Miss Maude Royden was in this country, she attended a convention in the South, and somewhat shocked and grieved her hosts by choosing a Negro church in which to preach; but when a dinner was given in her honor she found beside her at the table, in the seat of second honor, a Eurasian from India. She laughed about that. It would have seemed dreadful to that company to seat her next a Negro, but it would have seemed equally dreadful to some of her friends in England to have been seated next a Eurasian. What fools and blind men we are!

This is why International House on Riverside Drive is one of the most stimulating places on this planet—sixty-seven different nations and races under one roof. It is a liberal education to breathe the air. "But," some one says, "you are dodging the question. You are talking about students. I am thinking about the ordinary garden variety of people. I don't want anything to do with niggers, Japs, Dagoes, and Jews." My friend, do you see what you are doing? You are gathering up a great mass of human beings and tagging them with an opprobrious epithet. How do you like that when people do it to us Americans? Gandhi is said to have told his fellow Indians that whatever creed we may profess, our God is always money. Do you like that? Do you think it is fair? Would you not want to say, "That is true about some Americans, but we are not all like that. We are not all stamped with the dollar mark." That is, you do not like it when anybody takes us, ties us up in one bundle, and plasters us with an opprobrious label. Well, what about the Golden Rule?

Finally and briefly, think of what prejudice does, not simply to ourselves but to the prospects of the race. You see, somehow or other, these nations, races, creeds, and colors must live together. Science has spoken an infallible

(*Will you please turn to page* 393)

Postscript

by W. E. B. DuBois

ON THE FENCE

IN this presidential campaign THE CRISIS is sitting squarely on the fence, naked and unashamed and without apology. It is certain that either Herbert Hoover or Al Smith is going to be elected President of the United States, and in our humble opinion, it does not matter a tinker's damn which of these gentlemen succeed. With minor exceptions, they stand for exactly the same thing: oligarchy in the South; color caste in national office holding; and recognition of the rule of organized wealth. We do not believe that there is a jot or tittle of difference between these two men in their attitude toward these fundamental matters, and we sincerely advise our readers to vote for neither of them.

On the other hand, we repeat advice which we have given many times before: it is of the utmost importance that Negro voters register and vote for Congressmen who are the friends of Industrial Democracy and who do not believe in the color bar. A Congress filled with men of this sort will do much to curb the Bourbon South led by Al Smith, or entrenched plutocracy represented by Herbert Hoover.

A THIRD PARTY

THE political theory of the Third Party in a Republican form of Government is that when the two chief parties cease to stand for distinct policies and principles, one of them will disappear, or the two will coalesce, and that a Third Party will arise and become one of the main contenders for the popular vote. In this way, it is assumed that there will always be a real difference of aim and principle between the main political parties. It was thus that the Republican Party arose and triumphed in the election of Abraham Lincoln. In this way the English Liberal Party displaced the Whigs, and the Labor Party now bids fair to displace the Liberals.

Many Americans place their hopes of political reform in the United States on the rise of a Third Party which will register the fact that the present Republican and Democratic parties no longer differ in any essential respect. That both represent the rule of organized wealth, and neither of them has been willing to take radical ground with regard to the tariff, the farmer, labor, or the Negro.

The efforts, however, to organize a Third Party movement have not been successful. The Populists failed. The Socialists failed. The Progressives failed. The Farmer-Labor movement failed. Many reasons have been advanced for these failures, but by common consent the real effective reason has seldom been discussed and that reason is in the Solid South: the fact is that no party in American politics can disappear if it is sure of 136 electoral votes.

This number of votes the Democratic Party is practically sure of in the Solid South: Virginia, 12; North Carolina, 12; Tennessee, 12; South Carolina, 9; Georgia, 14; Florida, 6; Alabama, 12; Mississippi, 10; Arkansas, 9; Louisiana, 10; Oklahoma, 10; Texas, 20.

There is a possibility that Tennessee's 12 votes might now and then be cast for the Republican Party and a still slimmer possibility of Oklahoma's 10, and North Carolina's 12. For the most part, however, a presidential election in the United States has to do only with 395 of the 531 electoral votes. In order to win an election, a party must carry 266 votes. Any Third Party, therefore, in the United States to be successful would have to find its 266 votes among the 395 votes.

It must receive all but 29 of the electoral votes of the North and West. If it fails to do this, then it not only fails to carry the election, but it throws the election into the hands of the least liberal of the two old parties.

The least liberal party must be the Democratic Party because that party must place its main dependence upon the Solid South. The Solid South has the greatest percentage of illiteracy, the greatest percentage of lynchings and lawlessness, the greatest amount of religious bigotry, the least liberal laws as to labor of men, women and children, and is, in fine, because of its economic history, the most backward part of the whole nation. It does not make any difference how far the Democratic Party of the North may be stirred by liberal leanings, its very dependence upon the Solid South compels it to be a reactionary party. We might, of course, imagine liberal and radical elements among the Democrats making a strong appeal to the party and to the nation, but could we imagine any such political leadership voluntarily relinquishing 136 electoral votes?

Suppose we represent the electoral vote of the United States by the figure 16, and assume that today this power is divided almost evenly between Democrats and Republicans, each with 8 votes. To 4 of these votes, cast by the Democrats and representing the Solid South, a Third Party could make no appeal at all. This would leave 12 votes open to liberal appeal. Assume that the principles of the Third Party are so strong and compelling that they convince half of those voters; that is, half of those open to conviction. What is the result? The result is the triumph of the Democratic Party by a vote of 7 Democrats, 6 Third Party men, and 3 Republicans. This illustrates what is bound to take place as long as there is a Solid South.

WHISPERS

THE real whispering of this campaign is not whispers with regard to Smith's private character or Hoover's relations with England. It is the intense and dramatic silence in both the Democratic and Republican camps on the Negro vote. The Negro vote is essential to the victor in this campaign. Smith has no ghost of a show unless he can carry it, and any large defection of Negroes from Hoover would ruin his chances. Yet neither candidate dares to court this vote or to make any promises, or to give the slightest indication that he cares to have it. Well and good. This is not a sign of our weakness; it shows the weakness of a nation so sold to race hate that it cannot face the truth. The real sufferers in a campaign of this sort are those American white people who do not realize the desperate efforts that are being made backstairs, *sotto voce* and under cover to attract the franchise of Negro voters. Such cheerful idiots are under the impres-

sion that our two million votes are of no account. We know better and so do the disbursers of the slush funds which are being poured out among us from both headquarters. Thousands of Negroes will sell their votes to the highest bidder and millions of whites will do the same. That's the reason that an American election costs eight open millions of dollars and God alone knows how much more.

THE DUNBAR NATIONAL BANK

THE establishment of the Dunbar National Bank in New York City, may be simply another bank; but it might prove to be an epoch making event for the darker races of the world. Here is a bank with over a million dollars of capital and surplus, with a colored and white directorate and a colored and white personnel. Even though white business men and capital predominate in numbers and authority, yet the possibilities of such an organization are tremendous.

In the present organization of the world in politics and industry the line between capital and labor coincides roughly to the line between the white and darker races. Whatever salvation the darker races seek under present conditions must be attained through their admission to the ranks of capitalists.

Failing this, they must fight capital and modern industry and their fight must be primarily racial and not based on the intrinsic merits or demerits of capitalistic industry.

Thus two questions face Negroes and Chinese and Indians.

First, is capitalism, as at present organized, the best director of work and income? Second, can the darker peoples secure voice and influence in the governing councils of modern organized capital? These are separate questions, but they tend to be one today, because organized capital today is almost exclusively in white control. The control of capital and credit enables the white people of the world to rule the world for their own benefit and to ignore whenever they so wish, the best interests of the colored peoples.

The leaders of colored thought, therefore, are faced by this problem: is the whole capitalistic system wrong or is the color problem merely the problem of securing for the darker people proper representation in the centers of capitalistic control? This question has been variously answered.

Booker T. Washington in the United States, most of the Negro leaders of West Africa, and some of the leaders of India, have seen salvation in a chance to share the capitalistic control of industry with white Europe and America. Others, including the Editor of THE CRISIS, believe that industrial reform must be far more radical than this.

BUT no matter what differences of opinion arise on this point, so long as organized capital excludes Negroes and other darker folk from its counsels and official positions, just so long will this people be forced toward radical industrial reform.

It is useless to reply that the capitalistic system is always open to individual merit. That is not true so far as white boys are concerned, and it is a flat lie in the case of black boys. No black boy today, no matter what his education or ability, has any chance of admission and promotion in a white bank, insurance company, corporation or manufacturing concern. And no bank organized by black folk has a ghost of a chance to grow to real power in a financial world dominated by white banks and white captains of industry. Indeed, it has become almost axiomatic in England and America to put no real financial or industrial power in the hands of black folk.

Repeated attempts have been made to break over this industrial dead line: on the Gold Coast in West Africa in connection with the cocoa trade; in the establishment of some fifty small Negro banks in the United States; in various co-operative movements in Asia and Africa;—none of these movements have had any real and conspicuous success. Each one has found itself eventually in the masterful grasp of the great white capitalistic monopoly.

It is not too much to say that the Dunbar National Bank offers the greatest opportunity of modern days for something different. One cannot think that Mr. John Rockefeller, Jr., and his associates have gone into this enterprise merely for profit. They must have a vision. How wide is that vision? It may, of course, be narrow and conventional: the training of colored bank officials, the extension of credit to promising small colored enterprises. This would be of value. Eventually, it would lead to better banking among Negroes and more adventure in business. But ultimately, it would do little more than to emphasize the division among colored people into rich and poor, exploiter and exploited, landlord and tenant, employer and employee.

BEYOND this, there should be, and we sincerely trust there is, a wider and broader dream. This dream would be to break up the controlling caste in organized capitalistic industry; to say to the world that the use of capital is one of the greatest of modern inventions and it must no longer be monopolized by white people. We are going to train colored people in its use and proper control, and through these trained men, we are going to see how far it is possible in the United States, in the West Indies, and in Africa, to put colored men in control of capital and credit, and to let them develop it, not simply for the profit of white people, but for the advancement of darker peoples.

And this is no idle dream. A proper use of capital and credit in the cocoa raising regions of the Gold Coast of Africa would do more to emancipate black West Africa and educate and uplift Negroes, than any other single movement. The West Indies, by far the most beautiful part of the new world, are today prostrate and enslaved under the heels of absentee white capitalists and landlords. They could be redeemed if the power of capital and credit was put into the hands of trained colored men who believe or could be led to believe in the possibilities of Negro blood. American imperialism in Haiti and Central America, instead of being carried out by "Nigger"-hating Louisianians, could be put in the hands of black Americans who believe in Haitian freedom and independence.

The seemingly insoluble problems of South Africa and of East Africa could be mitigated in the same way. While in the United States the only thing that is going to save organized labor and bring true industrial democracy, is the abolition of the color line in capital and credit.

We shall look forward then with interest to the development of this bank. If it adds simply one more bank in Harlem to the banks of New York, we shall be profoundly disappointed, no matter how large its capital and how great its dividends. If it takes a real step toward an industrial democracy which includes the darker races, we shall hail it as one of the great steps of the 20th Century.

KRIGWA, 1928

IN the last seven numbers of THE CRISIS, we have announced two sets of prizes for 1928. *First* the Charles Waddel Chesnutt Honorarium. These are prizes of $25, $15, and $10 awarded for articles and drawings published in THE CRISIS magazine. Prizes for April, May, June and July and August have been awarded. For the September and October numbers of THE CRISIS we are pleased to announce the following prizes:

First prize: Drawing by S. J. B. Brown $25

(*Will you please turn to page* 394)

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The Trail of the Buffaloes

(*Continued from page* 367)

through this tranquil valley, the stillness was almost as appalling now as was the continued patter of machine guns during the hostilities. We recalled most vividly that Sunday and Monday of November 10th, and 11th, 1918, when the 1st Battalion, 367th Infantry—the original Buffaloes—went into action through that unsheltered stretch known as the "Death Valley." It was exposed to heavy German guns and machine guns, but it held the enemy at bay while the white 56th Infantry, pocketed and hopelessly entangled in the enemy's wire and under murderous enemy fire, was allowed to reorganize its position. It was for this deed that the 1st Battalion was cited for the Croix de Guerre. In this valley now are fields of produce, greener and more abundant than ever, enriched by the blood of those who gave their all. Gone are the machine gun pits and "pill-boxes," only one stands now in "Death Valley," a monument to the heinous past.

This attack, you "Buffaloes" will recall, had been ordered for November 10th, the "zero hour," at 5 A. M., and the attack was under way when orders came to cease hostilities. The plan for attack included a charge on the Bois Frehaut—a veritable lair of machine guns for it seemed that every one of its numerous trees held a sharpshooter—by the 2nd Battalion of the 366th Infantry. It included an attack by the 365th Infantry on the Bois Voirotte—a maze of barbed-wire entanglements.

THENCE to Villers-sous-Preny, which had been held by the 367th Infantry for many days and from which the attack against Pagny had been launched. On the other side of the river were Bouxieres and Champey, unusually strongly fortified by four years of stabilized effort on the part of the Germans. It was their first line of defense. What a difference now! Everywhere busy French peasants, men and women, even children, cultivating their mosaic-like plots of ground. These villages have raised themselves out of the dust that German guns and the artillery manned by our black boys had razed.

Along the road a little further we came to Vandieres, which had been occupied by the 366th Infantry when they had been ordered to the Bois Frehaut. It was in this engagement that Lieutenant Guy W. Cannady was killed outright and Lieutenant N. W. Rush, of Atlanta, fell mortally wounded, dying later after heroic and strenuous efforts on the part of black surg-

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eons to save him. There were memories as we rode along of those uncited and now forgotten ambulance drivers of the 366th Ambulance Company, who for 72 continuous hours had driven over those shell-torn roads, often under the cover of darkness in an unlighted shrapnel and machine gun marked ambulance, evacuating the wounded. One driver collapsed in his seat as he brought back the load of mangled bodies which included Lieutenant Rush.

THIAUCOURT, the first city entered in Alsace by American troops—and they were "Buffaloes"—was next visited. They still sell in the shops picture post cards showing our black boys in khaki entering the town. In the public square of this town is a most impressive monument to the dead of the French and Americans; but for that matter, there is no town in France too small to have a monument erected to the men who lost their lives in the Great War.

At Thiaucourt is the American Cemetery for the St. Mihiel Sector. To those of you who have loved ones resting "over there" it will be consoling to know that these cemeteries are beautifully and reverentially maintained. As one walks around among the crosses all alike, except the Jewish graves, which are marked with the Cross of David, it is with bowed head and reverence.

"There is on earth no worthier grave
To hold the bodies of the brave
Than this place of pain and pride
Where they nobly fought and nobly died."

As we placed flowers upon the grave of Lieutenant Rush, we wondered if he and the thousands of others who died like him, had died in vain in the fight to make the world safe for Democracy. There is one consolation at least, even if our boys fought "jim-crowed," there is no segregation here. They are buried "row on row" without regard to rank, organization or race. It may be interesting to know that Lieutenant Rush's grave is almost directly behind the grave of Major Lufberry, the famous American Ace.

LEAVING Thiaucourt we went in the direction of Pont A' Mousson, through Fey-on-Haye. This little town for some reason has not been rebuilt, its crumbled walls remain as a spectre on the horizon. Pont A'Mousson was taken on November the 9th by the 2nd Battalion of the 365th Infantry. The bridge, which gives the name to the town, destroyed by the Germans in their retreat, has not been entirely rebuilt and we crossed over the same temporary structure that we crossed in the advance to Metz. Pont A'Mousson has been entirely rebuilt and its public square, with its unbroken line of shops surrounding it, is again alive with business. There are many new houses, much more modern, yet retaining the typical French architectural style.

Here, we visited and lunched with Professor and Madame Camille Rolland, who, many of the Buffaloes attached to the Sanitary Train will recall, conducted the school at Millery. It was our good fortune to be billeted with this lovely, typically French family during the war. They have a new house now and grandpere is dead.

From here back to Metz again, over a road no longer marked with camouflage and shell craters, but flanked by two new lines of railroad track under construction.

These days "hiking" around Metz were filled with much interest to me and we are hoping that this narrative of our impressions will take you back to those crucial days. We wondered then as we wondered now whether the "Buffaloes" could have taken the impregnable fortress known as Metz. But why wonder! La guerre est fini! The "Big Parade" is ended.

How Shall We Vote?

(*Continued from page* 368)

and then try again. Sometimes in the past I have voted the Socialist ticket because it indicated successful effort. Sometimes I have voted otherwise in the hope of more practical and immediate gain, as in the case of Wilson's first administration. But this year when I read the platform of the Socialist Party and compare it with the Republican and Democratic platforms, there is absolutely no doubt in my mind but that this is the only platform before American people that has common sense or justice, reason or hope, written into it. It dares to mention Negro disfranchisement as a prime cause of reaction, fraud and privilege, and it is right. I shall vote for Thomas.

W. E. B. Du Bois.

The Little Page

(*Continued from page* 373)

of the way spot, is carefully guarded by the mother bird, who takes all sorts of routes to keep callers out. The turkey's home is here in America. And the Cherokees used to call him "Oocoocoo." At Thanksgiving time he is often seen on post cards and magazines and tables as a reminder of those days when he was necessary diet and was hunted with the blunderbuss and brought down from his roost in the tree.

Thanks to the All-Father

FOR the willows by the run,
For the flowers in the sun,
For the strand the spider spun,
For my young life just begun!

Mountain Maples

THERE'S been a funny sort of change
Since autumn came into the woods.
Each mountain maple now has on
Just hosts of bright "red riding hoods".

Fly Away

RED leaves and orange,
Gold leaves and brown,
Borne by the west winds
All up and down,
Tossing and crossing,
No roads at all,
Blowing and going—
Leaves in the fall!

Blue birds and brown ones,
Swallow and lark,
Swift little nuthatch
Pecking at bark,
Get under cover,
Find winter homing,
Quick, like the plover,
Frosts will be coming.

The Dunbar National Bank

(*Continued from page* 370)

Negroes upon the Board, those instrumental in establishing the bank say:

"The Dunbar National Bank is, of course, an experiment and we must move slowly in deciding upon our policies, and until we see the response of the representative Negro business men of Harlem to this effort to be of assistance to them, we will have to delay the consideration of appointing any of them directors of the institution. It seems to us that we have gotten a Board which is very sympathetic with the aims of the Negro and they will deal with the questions which come up in the largest possible way for the benefit of the race. We may not make so much money in the end by this policy, but the Negro will be assured that his own interests are constantly in our minds."

AT present no stock has been offered for sale to colored people and the reason is stated as follows:

"The bank is only an experiment and until its success is definitely assured, we hesitate to invite subscriptions to its stock on the part of colored people. However, we have some plans under consideration for an allotment of stock to be subscribed for by tenant-owners in the Paul Laurence Dunbar Apartments; it may be several months before this is definitely offered to them. The whole enterprise is entirely for the benefit of the colored people and if we can make it a great success and then turn it over to them, we will be all the more pleased."

The bank opened with a considerable number of depositors, including organizations like the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company, and a large number of visitors. Many persons regard the opening of the bank as a milestone in the advance of the Negro, and agree with the telegram of R. R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute:

"Please convey to President Higgins and other officers and directors my regret that the opening of the forty-eighth session of Tuskegee Institute prevents my being present at the opening of the new banking home of the Dunbar National Bank. The Dunbar Apartments with the bank marks a new epoch in the progress and history of the Negro race. Of all the things that Mr. Rockefeller and his distinguished father have done for the Negro this new movement of his is without doubt among the most significant. He is giving the Negro a chance to work out his economic problem at six per cent a lesson that millions of our people as well as others need to learn."

N.A.A.C.P. Battle Front

(*Continued from page* 369)

numbers are working together apparently without friction or protest. In the Indian Office, in the Pension Office, and the Geological Survey and other places, colored and white clerks work amicably together. So far as laborers and messengers are concerned, there is no discrimination at all, but this is perhaps because there are very few white people in these positions. All messengers are located at desks in halls and use the same locker rooms without discrimination.

SPECIFIC and open discriminations have been found in the following cases:

A. *Segregation of Negro clerks in separate rooms.* In the Treasury Department, Room 308 of the Registrar's Office, there are 30 colored clerks and a colored Section Chief working in a room by themselves. In the same office, there are two other rooms, one with white girls, and the other with colored girls, making complete separation. In Room 341 of the Treasury Department, there are 5 colored clerks who are segregated. In the Navy Department, 11 colored clerks are put by themselves at one end of Room 3747-3750. In the Department of the Interior, one colored girl stenographer, instead of being in the Stenographer's Pool, is segregated in a room by herself. The United States Veterans' Bureau, Room 219, has 15 clerks and a Section Chief segregated. In the

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General Accounting Office, there are the following rooms with segregated colored clerks: Room 427, 4 clerks; Room 720, 8 clerks; Room 728, 5 clerks; Rooms 721-31, 6 clerks. In the Division of Statistics, 18th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, two colored clerks occupy Room 614 by themselves.

B. In some cases, there is *segregation by grouping* the colored clerks by themselves. This is true in the Government Printing Office and the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. Also, in the Department of the Interior, in the Third Wing of the 5th Floor, 5 colored clerks are segregated, and in the Third Wing of the 6th Floor, 2 clerks are segregated.

C. Most of the segregation in Government departments relates to *cafeteria service*. There are co-operative cafeterias in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and in the Government Printing Office. In each of these cases, there are separate tables for the colored clerks. In the Navy Department, the cafeteria operated by the Government, has separate tables for colored clerks. Concessionaires operate cafeterias in the Department of the Interior, the United States Post Office Building, and the City Post Office Building and the General Accounting Office. In all of these cases there are separate tables, and in one case, a separate room for colored clerks.

D. There are *separate lockers and toilets* for white and colored clerks in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, in the Washington City Post Office, and in the Government Printing Office.

E. In the General Land Office of the Department of Interior, there is discrimination in *stenographic service*. The colored clerks are served by a white man, while the white clerks call women stenographers from the Stenographic Pool.

IT will be noted that in none of the above cases are the discriminations a matter of life and death, and only in the evident policy of certain Bureau chiefs not to appoint colored clerks, even if they qualify, or to promote them on their record, is there a chance for energetic protest or legal action. The chief difficulty is in the principle laid down by the United States Government. In a large number of cases the Government permits a discrimination which has no basis except race and color. Most of the objects which the Government thus professes to seek would be accomplished easily by voluntary action: colored and white clerks would quite naturally group themselves according to their friendships and acquaintanceships at tables, and probably in their work. But to be

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compelled to do this by administrative order or by custom or by fear of dismissal, is an intolerable invasion of citizenship rights and calls for continued protest on the part of Negro Americans.

THE EFFORTS of the N. A. A. C. P. against this segregation policy began back in 1913. August 15th an open letter to President Wilson was issued signed by Moorfield Storey, Dr. Du Bois and Oswald Garrison Villard. It said among other things:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, through its Board of Directors, respectfully protests against the policy of your Administration in segregating the colored employees in the Departments at Washington. It realizes that this new and radical departure has been recommended, and is now being defended, on the ground that by giving certain bureaus or sections wholly to colored employees they are thereby rendered safer in possession of their offices and are less likely to be ousted or discriminated against. We believe this reasoning to be fallacious. It is based on a failure to appreciate the deeper significance of the new policy; to understand how far reaching the effects of such a drawing of caste lines by the Federal Government may be, and how humiliating it is to the men thus stigmatized."

FOLLOWING this up in November, the Secretary of the Board, Miss M. C. Nerney, made an investigation of the situation and reported segregation in many departments, but especially in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the Post Office Department, and the Treasury Department. A series of meetings were held under the auspices of the branches all over the country in connection with this. Wide publicity was given the matter. The Associated Press reported it and newspapers and magazines took up the matter. Later in the same month Mr. Monroe Trotter had an interview with President Wilson at which the President got insulted at Trotter's straightforward demands.

The result of this agitation seems to have been to stop any further spread of the segregation idea. The election of 1916 and the war overshadowed the matter. But after the election of Harding in 1920, it was found that instead of segregation being abolished, that in many cases it was being increased by the Republicans. In 1923, the N. A. A. C. P. tried to get at the facts through the District of Columbia Branch, and the Secretary, S. J. Davidson, worked several months gathering considerable evidence. But he found reluctance on the part of the segregated colored clerks to make the

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facts known less they lose their jobs. In 1925, the N. A. A. C. P. sent secretly a white agent to Washington who interviewed numbers of people, white and colored, and confirmed the fact that segregation by race was still existent, but it was impossible to get the sort of proof required.

The agitation again lapsed until it was brought up by a delegation under Mr. Monroe Trotter who went in 1926 to President Coolidge, and later in 1927 by the Washington branch of the N. A. A. C. P. under the leadership of Neval H. Thomas, with the co-operation of other bodies. In the course of the campaign Mr. Thomas several times headed delegations which called upon department officials. In several of the delegations were Mr. A. S. Pinkett, Secretary of the Branch; Mr. Robert J. Nelson, of the Elks and the Washington *Eagle;* Mr. Thomas A. Johnson of the Equal Rights League.

The National Office began a nation-wide press campaign and the result was that segregation was practically ended in the Pension Bureau and Department of the Interior and in the Census Bureau and Department of Commerce.

The Browsing Reader

(*Continued from page* 374)

The larger part of the book, from page 140 to 300, is a history and apology for the American intervention. With the thesis of this part, most Negroes, whether Haitian or American, will not entirely agree, and they will certainly dispute the sub-structure of fact which leads the author to conclude that "it is difficult to see how armed intervention could well have been avoided."

With all this, Mr. Davis is by no means a thick and thin defender of United States policies. He points out many mistakes in action and organization, just as he criticizes the Haitian elite. Most readers will agree with his general conclusions. He suggests three possible policies: (1) Complete withdrawal of the United States from Haiti; (2) Indefinite intervention; or, (3) Definite announcement of withdrawal in 1936 and a program designed "to prepare the Haitian people to take over and administer an efficient independent government." Of these the first would be an abject confession of incompetency; the second, impossible of ratification by agreement, either in Haiti or in the United States; while the third is, Mr. Davis thinks, the only decent way out.

He doubts, moreover, if present policies are preparing for this conclusion, and says:

"Many Haitians of the upper class have been educated in France, and their traditions, culture, and language are French, not African. They respond at once to courteous treatment and are equally quick to resent condescension and any evidence of the feeling of radical superiority which many Americans find it so difficult to conceal. The mistake of employing in Haiti Americans who have strong racial prejudices against the Negro has been stressed by almost every observer who has visited Haiti since the intervention. Haitians of the upper class are fully aware that such racial prejudices are much stronger in the United States than in any European country, and this very fact entails a definite obligation on the part of Americans in Haiti. No American who does not care to maintain a certain amount of ordinary social intercourse with Negroes should be sent to a Negro state."

W. E. B. D.

IN THE MAGAZINES

HARPER'S for August carries the omnipresent conjure story, "Satan am a Snake" by Wilbur Daniel Steele. Dukey, a gray-brown colored girl, has fang teeth and a hellish grin which she uses to "conjure" her companions. Under the influence of a mesmeric swamp moon, Dukey sleeps—and her fang teeth, which are her most precious possession, are extracted. That night Dukey is "married".

The leading editorial in *The Commonweal* for September 5th is on "The New Emancipation" of black America. The writer says that the emergence of the Negro race from the dark past is one of the major American movements; and that the Negro has played and will continue to play an important role in the economic and political situation of this country. To race leaders must fall the task of solving the Negro problem; but the process can be speeded up by intelligent white aid.

A brief article in the *Literary Digest* for September 8th tells "Why the Haussa Negro Language is Deemed Loveliest of all". It seems that Haussa Negroes, dwelling in the Soudan, are primarily a commercial people, and for generations they have travelled with their caravans even as far as India. Thus many words have been incorporated in the language by cross currents of traffic and by colonization of other peoples.

L. Marquard in *The Nineteenth Century* for July writes on "The Native Question in South Africa", Mr. Marquard says that the history of the native problem in South Africa has been one of failure: failure to recognize the impossibility of maintaining as subject a race that outnumbers the

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ruling race four to one; failure to recognize that the native question and industrial problems are the same thing and that the native is the proletariat; failure to recognize that the interests of the two races should be one; and the failure to recognize the potential economic value of the native as a citizen of the union.

Africa for April carries an article by I. Schapera on "Economic Changes in South African Native Life". Mr. Schapera says that there is no uniformity about the native question—that while there are some tribes which cling to their old tribal customs, there are yet others which approximate a European existence in mode of life, economic occupations, and outlook on life. In the early years of the European invasion, contact between the two peoples consisted entirely in trade, but it is becoming necessary for them to come together to work out methods of procedure for social, economic and political contact.

When Harry L. Foster visited the editors of the twelve or more Haitian dailies, he found they had two general complaints to make on the "American Haters of Haiti". *First*, that American intervention was a blow to Haitian pride; and *second*, that Americans, and the few Haitians that the Marines keep in power, hold all the best jobs. Haitians see in the influx of American capital the possibility of continuous occupation. This article may be found in *Independent* for August 11th.

"The Fruits of Haitian Occupation", says Mr. Foster, in the same magazine for August 18th, are the road building program, and the fight for sanitation in Haiti. Perhaps it is a tribute to the "efficiency" of Americans that two physicians can treat 950 patients a day!

New Masses for July carries "My Brother", by Socrates Sandino. This is a stark history of the life of Augusto Sandino, the rebel-patriot of Nicaragua. Sandino is the torch-bearer of Nicaragua—a hard-working man who has faith in Nicaragua's peasantry.

There is a hint of jessamine in the air, and the faint perfume of pressed roses; silver-haired grandames in lavendar and old lace rock gently to and fro on vine-covered piazzas, and Negro slaves hover in the background. This is the picture Benjamin Brawley paints of the old decadent South in writing of "The Southern Tradition" in *The North American Review* for September. Mr. Brawley says that the spirit of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, is slowly permeating the new Southland, and that the younger generation is developing a scientific approach to social problems.

—MARVEL JACKSON.

Along the Color Line

(*Continued from page* 379)

has decided to admit the 700 natives engaged in the industry. This is the first time that a European trade union in South Africa has admitted native workers.

¶ At Bloemfontein, in Orange Free State, an attempt is being made by the Town Council, to establish a minimum wage of about 3 shillings for native unskilled labor. The present wage averages 2s. 3d.

¶ In the Transvaal, the Johannesburg joint council of Europeans and natives is an inter-racial group of 60 persons. It was organized 5 years ago by Dr. F. G. Bridgman of the American Zulu Mission. It contains a large number of leading whites and natives and has taken up the matter of housing, recreation, and General Hertzog's proposed native legislation. It has issued three pamphlets with regard to these bills and is about to publish a fourth.

¶ A second conference of Europeans and natives was called by the Dutch Reform Church at Capetown in January, 1927. As a result of their request, the Hertzog native bills were referred to a select committee before the second reading.

¶ In Cape Province there are 15,000 native voters out of a total voting population of 150,000. In Natal there are only about 12 native voters and there are none in the Transvaal and the Free State.

WEST AFRICA

¶ Alarm is being felt on the Gold Coast on account of the extraordinary amount of liquor which is being imported. This amounted to 1,300,000 gallons last year for a population of 2,300,000. So far England has refused to limit the importation.

¶ In London, an African girl, Miss Christiana S. Thompson, of the Gold Coast, was married to Dr. Edward Tagoe of the Gold Coast Government Service. The bride was a student at Portway College, Reading. Among the guests was Sir Gordon Guggisberg, former Governor of the Gold Coast.

¶ At the Canadian National Exhibition held at Toronto, a display exhibit of three West African colonies, Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, was one of the most striking of the whole show. It occupied four thousand feet in the great Coliseum building. Among the exhibits were Captain G. S. Pryses' pictures of African scenes.

¶ Six students in Pharmacy were successful at the examinations held from July 9-16 at Lagos, Nigeria.

¶ The total trade imports and exports of Nigeria for 1927 exclusive of specie amounted to £32,005,594. Cotton goods were chiefly imported, followed by dried fish, tobacco and motor cars. The exports were chiefly palm kernels and oil, cocoa and tin. The total trade of Sierra Leone for 1927, imports and exports, were £3,879,283.

¶ Samuel Jones of the Sierra Leone Grammar School has been given a scholarship of $500 for five years to study Medicine in England.

¶ Prince Ibikunle Akitoye, II, paramount chief of Lagos, is dead. The Governor attended his funeral.

¶ The Nigerian Bar Association has given a reception in honor of Sir Kitoyi Ajasa, O. B. E. It was attended by the Chief Justice, the Governor's deputy, and leading members of the bar.

¶ Mathew Wilson, Archdeacon in Sierra Leone, is dead. He was educated at Fourah College and was well-known.

¶ The Reverend E. W. Smith, Literary Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, has arrived in New York to collect material for a biography of the late Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey.

The Far Horizon

(*Continued from page* 380)

word about that. We must somehow manage to live together, and there is only one way in which we can live together—with goodwill. And there is only one thing that ever yet created goodwill and that is goodwill. Somebody must start it. Somebody must generously pour goodwill into this situation.

It is a teasing and tortuous road that civilization has got us on. We are learning to live with all these nations, colors, creeds, and castes that for centuries have been specializing in their differences. It is very difficult—so difficult that Peter himself did not fully live up to his housetop vision. Only, my friends, illwill has no contribution to make. Prejudice is poison. And if there is any class of people who ought to pour

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generous goodwill into this situation, surely it is the disciples of him who long centuries ago walked out into the ancient world, where the problem was harder than it is with us, and set his disciples saying, Neither Jew nor Greek, Scythian, barbarian, bond nor free, but one man in Christ.

There is a fine story that comes from the Zulu wars in Africa. A British officer was sent out with a contingent of his men against the Zulus. The Zulus sent out a peace messenger and the British by mistake shot him. That touched the honor of the British officer. He turned his command over to his lieutenant. He disarmed himself and all alone he walked out from the British ranks toward his enemies. In surprise the Zulus took him in and brought him to their chief. "I have come," said the British officer, "to give myself up because we shot your peace messenger by mistake. It is a thing brave warriors never do. I am very sorry. To make amends I place my life in your hands. Do with me as you will." And after a moment's silence the Zulu chief said, "You are a man, and your people are men, and the sons of men; we too are men. We will make peace."

Postscript

(*Continued from page* 382)

Second prize: A story. "No White Woman", by A. L. Shands $15
Third prize: A poem. "On Lenox", by Laura Tanne $10
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